1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

these in a chronological order; from Rasolo on, practically all of them; but there are many early ones which have cast adrift from any system of chronology. Traditions of first origins are much adulterated by the recently imported cult of Water Sprites.

One point all agree upon is that the earliest settlement was in Vangandra, a hill, apparently of raised coral, which beetles over the shore between Nasangalau and Tumbou, on the island of Lakemba. Another point of agreement is that there were two brothers in Vangandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira, but there is some difference as to their names. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the elder was a cannibal, of which the younger disapproved because the people of Lakemba were thus being eaten, so he fled to the southwest. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau and one in Nukunuku; those two are noble in Natokalau. The younger brother came to Undukathu and his people established villages at Kukulevu, Toiovu, and Vanga.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

The Province of Lau, Fiji, is made up of three ancient divisions:

1. The dominion of the chief of Lakemba; the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia, and the group known to the Lakembans as Lau and here called the Southern Islands. This group comprises Oneata, Mothe, Kambara (with its dependencies, Komo and Uangava), Fulanga (with its dependency, Ongea), and Ono (with its dependency, Vatoa).

2. The Exploring Isles were formerly subject to Thakaundrove, a district of Vanua Levu. The main island, Vanua Mbalavu, is divided into two states: Mualevu, north; Lomaloma, south. The islands of Tuvutha and Mango belong to Lomaloma, the others to Mualevu.

3. The group of islands consisting of Totoya (with its dependency, Vanua Vatu), Moala, and Matuku formed a link between the windward islands and "Lomaiviti," the main Fijian islands. These islands were independent though "turning towards Mbau."

Mbau, off the eastern coast of Viti Levu, was formerly recognized as the leading island of Fiji. Its principal chief was recognized by foreigners as King of Fiji.

Lau (fig. 1) is now wealthy because of its coconuts, but its natural food resources are meager. Lakemba, Naiau, Thithia, Oneata, and Ono have enough pockets of good soil to produce a surplus which can be exported to the islands which are miserably deficient in soil, especially Fulanga. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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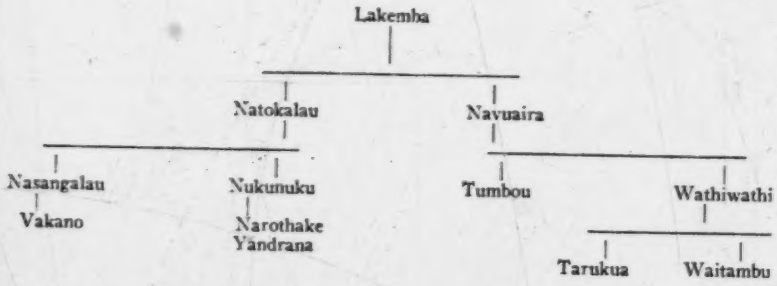
For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows:



563

Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau.

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Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition.

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As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side.

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It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition.

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The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	{ Nayala { Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	{ Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa Namolutu	Thenu	{ Namana { Mbutukoro
		Sau	{ Mbutoisau { Nakorolailai
Yawalevu	{ Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali,* a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*).

Naiau

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Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu.

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The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.)

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Thithia

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Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitambani*, the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The title of Tui Wathiwathi is said to be an old one. A former title was Tui Lomanikoro from the old name of the village. He also bears the title of Tui Navuaira, embracing Wathiwathi and its dependencies but not Tumbou. He rules Tarukua and Waitambu. 622

It is not clear whether the title of Tui Tarukua is ancient or not. There was a god of that name. The title of Tui Waitambu is new.

The order of precedence in Natokalau is: Tui Nasangalau, Tui Soso, Tui Yandrana, Tui Vakano. In Navuaira it is Tui Tumbou, Tui Wathiwathi, Tui Tarukua. Nasangalau and Nukunuku are equal, but Nasangalau is a little higher because they had the elder brother there. Nukunuku is the junior branch.

Formerly Lakemba belonged to three chiefs, Tui Soso, Tui Nasangalau, Vakavanua.

Wathiwathi and Waitambu are spoken of as the *i tambani* of the nobles; that is, "those who are on the same side of the nobles," as opposed to *veitambani*, the other side.

When country folk or subject islanders come to Tumbou they usually frequent the house of a particular nobleman. On the other hand, this nobleman will have influence in that village and speak of himself as a native there. This is because one of his female ancestors comes from that village. A nobleman may be a native in several villages. Sometimes the relationship is most roundabout. Thus the High Chief is connected with Yandrana because his mother's mother was of the clan of Vusaratu in Mbau which is of the same blood as the village of Kiuva from which men came to settle in Yandrana and married Yandrana women. If a man have a female ancestor from Ono he is thereby a native in Wathiwathi. 565

Except Wathithi, the villages of Lakemba do not welcome a nobleman unless he is a native of that place.

ENVOYS

This relationship is not to be confused with the office of envoy. An envoy is called *mataki* (literally, face toward). An envoy conveys the High Chief's orders to the place to which he is appointed. On the other hand, if the people of that place come to Lakemba, they stay at the envoy's house and he introduces them to Big House. The envoy speaks of that place as his (*ona*), and it is said to be subject to him. The Lord of Naiau rules all the islands, but Matailakemba rules Namuka, to which that clan is envoy. If, therefore, the present High Chief wanted a cutter, it was always that of Namuka he commandeered. 645 631

The clan of Vatuwangga is envoy to Yandrana because the two are kinsfolk. Vatuwangga is also envoy to Mothe and Vulanga. 631

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

631 Naivi people are envoys to Ono and Vatoa because Uluilakemba I ancestor of that clan, married a lady of Ono and her son conquered Ono. They also became envoys to Ongea because one of them saved the third Lord of Naiau from shipwreck and so was given Ongea, Tarukua, and Lomati in Kambara as the "price of life" (*ka ni mbula*) to rule according to his pleasure.

Koroithumu is envoy to Nukunuku and Oneata; Katumbalevu proper, to Thithia; Tandravula, to Waitambu; Narewendamu, to Wathiwathi; Thekena, to Vakano. Tanggalevu is envoy to Kambara.

From of old down to the days of the third Lord of Naiau Vakano made feasts for Thekena while the other villages made feasts for the chief's house. If they made a feast for the High Chief it was first taken to Thekena and there was a share for that clan. Thekena also counts Waitambu as a subject, although it is not envoy to that place. Waitambu prepares the food out of doors, while Vakano are household servants (*kaivale*) and attend indoors. Thekena speak of these two places as their "two countrysides." They are also envoys to Komo.

There is no envoy to Naiau. This island stands in a peculiar position. The Lord of Naiau holds it. On landing the people of Naiau go straight to Big House into the kitchen.

In each island there is an envoy to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands these envoys were the chiefs. There were no *tui* then.

645 There are also envoys to countries not subject. The envoy to Mbau has been mentioned. The envoys to Thakaundrove and to Totoya were not hereditary, but some nobleman was appointed. He was accompanied by a herald who spoke to him.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

VANUA MBALAVU

LOMALOMA

Vanua Mbalavu, the main island of the archipelago shown on the Hydrographic charts as "Exploring Islands," consists of two districts or states. Lomaloma and Mualevu, each independent of the other; but Lomaloma is of low rank while Mualevu is noble in both Thakaundrove and in Lakemba. Formerly the islands of Mango and Tuvutha belonged to Lomaloma and when Mango was sold to Europeans, its people were transferred to the villages of Malata (Nalamata) and Ndakui.

The chief village of Lomaloma is Lomaloma. It has a Fijian quarter divided into Nggala, Mbutha, and Naturuku; and a Tongan quarter known as Sawana. The whole of Lomaloma is divided between Nggala and Mbutha: the villages of Levukana, Narothivo, and Susui are subject to Nggala; Ndakuilomaloma, Tuvutha, Uruone, Malata and Mango are subject to Mbutha. Levukana is the household (*lewe ni vale*) in Nggala. Tuvutha is the household of the Rasau (p. 226); they are directly his men; they may come into his house as may also the heralds of Ndakui; others must sit outside.

The clans of Lomaloma are as follows:

Nggala: (*a*) Nandawavula; (*b*) Nukuthiri, merely nobles, cannot become Ravunisa; (*c*) Mbotembote, the heralds of the Ravunisa; (*c*) Naitasiri.

Mbutha: (*a*) Valelevu; (*b*) Naivindrawalu; (*c*) Namasokithake; (c) Sinumana.

Naturuku: (*a*) Naitokandamu; (*b*) Nandave; (*c*) Naraka.

Nggala and Mbutha are equal. Formerly the feasts were divided in two and Nggala was called first. Each clan divided its feasts among its subjects. Nowadays, a district feast is divided among the villages, Sawana being called first, because the district chief belongs there. The people of Naturuku belong to neither Mbutha nor Nggala; they live by themselves on the shore, and the neighboring islands belong to them.

If a man's father comes from one noble clan into the "center of the village," and his mother from another, he is termed a "home nephew" (*vasu i taukai*). He is a very great nobleman.

There are four ranks in the clan of Naturuku: Tui Naturuku, his Vaka, his Takala, his Herald, or Tui Ra. These are they who obey Tui Naturuku: Takala, the Takala of the feast; Vaka, the Vaka of his word; the herald, the herald of Tui Naturuku. The Herald sits with the feast but the Takala faces the feast.[3]

Naivindrawalu are now the priests of Tuilambelambe, the god of Valelevu. He is a god in Yandrana also.

Mbutha's *tavua* is Kelo in Yandrana: Nggala's *tavua* is Mboma in Taveuni, but since the Lands Enquiry this has been extended to the whole village.

The chief of Nggala is Ravunisa of the clan of Nandawavula. The chief of Mbutha is Rasau in the clan of Valevalu. The Ravunisa takes precedence, he rules the land; the Rasau is next in rank, the Tui Tumbou is second to the Tui Naiau. They cooperate. Of old, each ruled his part of the town and of the land, and grouped the

[3] In Lomaloma the title Tu is used for Ratu. "They make a great use of titles."

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

131 north and south along the eastern margin of the Fiji group. The Lau Islands lie at the meeting point of two culture areas, Melanesia on the west and Polynesia on the east (fig. 1, insert). Moreover these small islands in the central Pacific define the eastern border of the submarine shelf, which extends from Asia eastward into Oceania, and mark a change from continental to insular geological formation and a corresponding transition in flora and fauna. The island world west of Lau is more compact than that east of the archipelago and the flora and fauna are richer.

131 The southern Lau Islands (fig. 2) are: Oneata; Mothe; the Kambara
631 group composed of Kambara, Namuka-i-Lau (Namuka), and Komo; the Fulanga group composed of Fulanga and Ongea; and the Ono group composed of Ono-i-Lau (Ono) and Vatoa. They are part of the chiefdom of Lakemba, which also includes the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia in central Lau. The islands of both central and southern Lau are subject to the high chief at Lakemba.

North of the chiefdom of Lakemba lie the Exploring Isles, formerly subject to Thakaundrove on Vanua Levu; and on the west lies the independent Moala group consisting of Totoya, Moala, Matuku, and Vanua Vatu. The chiefdom of Lakemba, the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group comprise the colonial political province of Lau. To the natives, however, only the islands south of Lakemba, excluding the Moala group, are known as Lau.

133 Based on differences in geological formation, the Lau Islands may be divided into three groups: volcanic islands, limestone islands, and islands composed of both limestone and volcanic rocks. Of the important islands in the chiefdom of Lakemba, Mothe, Komo, and Thithia are volcanic; Lakemba, Kambara, Oneata and Ono are composed of limestone and volcanic rocks; and Wangava, Fulanga, Ongea, and Vatoa are composed wholly of limestone. These geological differences form the basis of economic life in southern Lau. The natural resources of the three rock types are supplementary and the group is economically interdependent.

The volcanic islands rise from sandy beaches toward a central ridge or hill. Their grassy slopes are forest free, and streams flow through their fertile valleys. They are rich in garden lands which grow yams, taro, manioc, breadfruit, bananas, papaya, and other tropical fruits in abundance, but they lack the forest resources of the limestone islands.

133 The limestone islands are characterized by a heavily forested limestone
262 basin. Small pockets of poor soil, on which yams and taro do not grow well,
[134] serve as garden lands. The staple food is manioc, supplemented on some islands by sweet potato, on others by breadfruit, and by roots, nuts, leaves, and fruit from the jungle. With the introduction of manioc and sweet potatoes in recent times, the inhabitants have become gardeners. The limestone islands

[Text continues on p. 12. - Analyst]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

sioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli* (district headman). The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. He is head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

On each island there is a native resident missionary, trained in a mission school and appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in charge of a mission church. The natives contribute a quarterly tithe to the mission and attend church on Sundays. Their children are baptized, and Christian marriage and death rites supplement the native ones. The influence of the mission in Lau has been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 110-123).

Each island has at least one native schoolmaster in charge of a village school. He has been trained in a mission or a government teachers' training school. He teaches the children reading and writing in the Mbauan dialect and simple arithmetic during two or three hours several mornings a week. The problems of education in Lau have been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 140-145).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

SOCIAL GROUPS

First the social groups of Lau and then the organization of each village will be described in detail.

The largest kinship unit in Lau is the phratry (*yavusa*). It is based on the historic settlement of the islands. Each phratry consists of a group of clans (*matanggali*). The clans formerly occupied hamlets (*tokatoka*) in garden lands or clearings in the bush. Since the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets have moved to the coast and united into villages, many retaining their local unity. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. They are divided into subclans (called *tokatoka* or *mbatchi ni lovo*), which are subdivided into families or households (*vuvale*).

The largest geographical unit in Lau is the chiefdom (formerly called *mata ni tu*), which consists of groups of islands or minor chiefdoms united in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. In each minor chiefdom are several villages (*koro*). Each village is composed of several clan-hamlets.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

THE FAMILY

A small clan or a subclan is composed of one or more *vuvale* (families or households). A *vuvale* usually consists of one family including a man, his wife, their children, and other near relatives. The group usually owns a sleeping house, a kitchen hut, and an earth oven shelter. Some families also own a men's house, used by the father of the family when his wife is child bearing, and by the youths, unmarried men, and widowers of the group. As a rule the family functions as a unit in planting, gathering, preparing and eating its daily food.

Local Groups

THE CHIEFDOM

The chiefdom of Lakemba is composed of a group of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) held in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Besides Lakemba and Naiau, the chiefdom consists of Kambara with its dependencies (Namuka and Komo) and its uninhabited possessions (Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi); Mothe with its uninhabited possession (Karoni); Oneata; Fulanga with its dependency (Ongea), its uninhabited possessions (Yangasa cluster) and Ongea's uninhabited possession (Ongea Ndriki); Thithia; and Ono with its dependency (Vatoa) and uninhabited possessions (Tuvana-i-tholo and Tuvana-i-ra).

The chiefdom resulted from the unification and organization of society in southern Lau, which began with the arrival of the immigrants from Viti Levu and was strengthened and accelerated by Tongan and finally European influences (pp. 29-30). Rivalry grew up between the clans of the nobles. Intervillage and interisland warfare followed. The nobles protected themselves with fortresses (p. 104). Their war leaders (*tamata nganga*) were aided by their allies (*mbatchi*) until gradually the strong groups reduced the weak ones to dependency.

There were three grades of dependency between political groups: *mbatchi, nggali,* and *kai si.* Moto of Undu says that a *mbatchi* is a man who helps because of kinship, not because he is forced to do so. According to Wilkes (26, p. 59) the term *"mbatchi"* means ally, or under the protection of a power though not actually subject to it, and the term *"nggali"* means subject to a power and compelled to pay yearly tribute or obliged to satisfy the demands of the chiefs. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 19) the *nggali* type of subjection includes a province or town subject or tributary to a chief town, and the *mbatchi* type includes provinces or towns not so directly subject, less oppressed, and less respected. In general the *mbatchi* includes those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; and the *nggali* includes conquered groups from whom the chief extracted

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

●631-174 regular tribute in food and industrial produce. Groups that were completely defeated in warfare were either destroyed or reduced to *kai si*, the lowest possible rank, becoming the chief's slaves who labored for him, provided his daily food, and built his houses.

How the southern islands became attached to the chiefdom of Lakemba is not definitely known. It is the concensus in both Lau and in Viti Levu, however, that Kambara was formerly a rich and powerful chiefdom and that it held the highest rank in Lau before the rise of Lakemba. According to genealogies, legends, and statements of informants, Ndaunisai settled on Kambara, which was already inhabited by the land people, and established the noble class there. The nobles spread in Lau by tradition as follows:

Ndaunisai built the fortress of Nambewa in east Kambara. Ndaunisai had three sons, Wetasau and Nggileso by a woman called Vuavakavutu, Nawasambalavu by a woman called Naitukuninggila (table 2, next page). Vuavakavutu's kin are not known but Naitukuninggila belonged to the land people of Kambara. Wetasau established himself in east Kambara, Nggileso on Wangava, which was inhabited by the land people, and Nawasambalavu in west Kambara. Rivalry grew among the three brothers. Kelei, the son of Wetasau, and Sue, the son of Kelei strengthened east Kambara; during this time they acquired the island of Namuka, probably by destroying the aborigines, who were land people. They colonized the island with people from east Kambara. The descendants of Nawasambalavu strengthened west Kambara and acquired the island of Komo, probably in similar fashion. They colonized Komo with people from west Kambara. Nggileso built the fortress of Ndengei in west Wangava. He had three sons, Nggoma, who was the first-born, Ndelaivunggalei, and Randauvala. Nggoma established himself on Lakemba, Ndelaivunggalei on Naiau, and Randauvala succeeded his father on Wangava.

Niumataiwalu, the son of Ndelaivunggalei, killed Nggoma and his sons and established himself as chief of both Lakemba and Naiau. He founded the Navuanirewa clan which was later divided into the Naivi, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga and Koroithumu clans and provided the high chief of Lau (table 2). Niumataiwalu had two sons, Uluilakemba I and Rasolo, by Tarau, a Totoya woman. Uluilakemba I had several sons. Among them were Ndausinga, the first-born, by Uma of Nukunuku, Ndranivia by a woman from Kambara, and Uluilakemba II by Kaukione of the Nasau clan, Mothe. Ndausinga founded the Naivi clan. Ndranivia married Ufia of Totoya—probably the same woman who was stolen by Sue of Kambara and from Sue by Singambongi of Wangava—who became the mother of Mbuatoka and Tawaketchini.

Uluilakemba II with his wife, Mbiu of Katumbalevu, Lakemba, established himself on Mothe which was inhabited by land people. Mothe had two chiefs, one from Nasau clan on the south side and the other, probably from Nggali clan, on the north. Uluilakemba settled on the side of Nasau, his mother's clan and united the island under his rule. He held the title of chief of Mothe and founded the Mbutonikoro clan.

Niumataiwalu's second son, Rasolo, succeeded Uluilakemba I as chief of Lakemba. He married Laufitu of Tonga and founded the Matailakemba clan. Other sons of Niumataiwalu founded the Vatuwangga and Koroithumu clans of Navuanirewa, Lakemba.

Randauvala, the son of Nggileso, who remained on Wangava, had a son, Singambongi. Singambongi stole Ufia from Sue, chief of east Kambara, who had stolen her from a chief of Lakemba. Ufia bore two sons on Wangava, Mbuatoka and Tawaketchini. Informants on Kambara do not know whether the father of Mbuatoka was Sue or Singambongi but they agree that Singambongi was the father of Tawaketchini. Sue, with the help of Ufia's kin in Totoya, killed Singambongi on Wangava and rescued Ufia.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

631
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Mbuatoka, either by kinship or conquest, succeeded Sue as leader of the east side of Kambara. He lived at Nakoro, a fortress on the cliff above the present site of Nggalinggali and took to wife the sister of Thakauniwere, chief of the east side of the island. Mbuatoka's descendants comprise the Tanggu clan of Nggalinggali. Thakauniwere was a direct descendant of Nawasambalavu, a son of Ndaunisai, who founded the Vuanikathu clan (table 2). Thakauniwere lived in Nakorovusa, a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau. He led the west side against the east, killed Mbuatoka, and took his sister back to Nakorovusa.

Tawaketchini, who succeeded his brother Mbuatoka, founded the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali. The fight between the two sides of the island continued, Tawaketchini leading the east, and a warrior called Tawakerua the west. Tawakerua was victorious and it was perhaps at this time that part of the Naivotavota clan joined the Vuanitavola clan on the west side. Tawaketchini died by falling from a coconut tree and was succeeded by his son, Tchiaotchi, whose mother was Vutu of the Nanggara clan. Tchiaotchi united the island and was installed as the first chief of Kambara. During Tchiaotchi's rule the influence of Lakemba on Kambara was strengthened. The Kambarans say that Lakemban influence was responsible for a meeting of the two sides of the island held at an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*) situated near Naimarai, the Tongan village at the north end of the island, in order to stop the war between them.

Informants agree that Kambara is ally (*mbatchi*) to Lakemba. Moto of Undu says that Kambara became ally to Lakemba when an agreement based on kinship was made between the two island units, Kambara agreeing to furnish manufactured goods to Lakemba in exchange for food. When Tchiaotchi died, Manoa, his sister's son (*vasu*), was appointed his successor by Roko Taliai, the chief at Lakemba. Manoa was installed as chief of Kambara. He became a Christian and soon the whole island was converted. During his reign the Tongans became powerful in Lau, and Timothe Thakau was appointed Tongan magistrate on Kambara. When Manoa died Timothe Thakau was appointed by the high chief at Lakemba as Manoa's successor, and he was installed as chief of Kambara. Soon after this the British took possession of Fiji and Timothe Thakau became the first district headman (*mbuli*) of Kambara. Timothe was the last chief of Kambara to be installed. From this time on district headmen have been appointed by the colonial officials.

From the above account it appears that the Kambara group, Mothe and Naiau, became attached to the chiefdom of Lakemba through kinship and warfare.

According to the natives, Fulanga reduced Ongea to dependency after a long, hard conquest. Some informants say that Fulanga is ally (*mbatchi*) to Kambara while others deny the relationship, but Kambarans agree that the Fulangans are people of lowest rank (*kai si*). It is said that if natives of Fulanga come to Tokalau, the chief village of Kambara, they are not allowed to walk erectly through the village but must bow their heads in an attitude of respect. As a matter of fact the Fulangans avoid Kambara, and, although they sail and trade a great deal, they never voluntarily touch its shores.

631

Today each minor chiefdom holds a definite rank in relation to the others and to Lakemba. This rank is expressed in the division of shares at an inter-island feast and, according to the southern natives, the order is as follows: Lakemba, Naiau, Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Fulanga, Thithia, Ono. Hocart (15, p. 25) states that he heard the shares of a feast called out at Lakemba

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

631 in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga (sometimes Ono before Oneata). For the order at the high chief's funeral see page 98.

Tribute consisting of whales' teeth (*tambua*) and local produce is paid to the high chief by minor chiefdoms (p. 37) at the installation, marriage, and death of a high chief; at the birth, marriage, and death of important members of his family; or upon requisition of the high chief or his sister's son. A small countergift, such as tobacco or a feast, is usually given in return for chiefly tribute and is always of far less value than the gift.

Each minor chiefdom has a hereditary chief (*tui*). The title, chief of an island, is hereditary in the senior subclan of the highest ranking clan of the group. Other hereditary clan titles of the minor chiefdom are: herald (*mata ni vanua*), master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*), chief of crops (*vaka vanua*) or chief's administrator (*takala*), master carpenter (*matai*), envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*), and chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*). The functions of these titles have been described in the section on clan titles (pp. 45-53).

Under the colonial government, minor chiefdoms have been organized into political districts under a district headman. Island assemblies are held to arrange the collection and presentation of tribute to the chief or taxes to the colonial government; the reception of a visiting chief or government official; interisland feasts and ceremonial exchanges. Native district courts are held to try petty offenses against native regulations.

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The Village

621 Each minor chiefdom is composed of a group of villages. The villages are graded according to the hereditary rank of the clans of which they are composed.

[622] The chief political officer of the village is the village headman appointed by the colonial government to apportion and direct the communal work of the village. He sees that it is kept clean, and recommends the repair and rebuilding of houses according to the village plan ordered by the government. As the representative of the colonial government, he is responsible for collecting tribute and taxes. Village affairs are discussed by an assembly of

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The main functions of the village are economic and ceremonial. It acts as a unit in such communal activities as turtle fishing and organized fishing, house and canoe building, the making of large strips of barkcloth, large mats, and large nets. As a group it participates in village, inter-village, and interisland feasts, and it competes with other villages in ceremonial exchanges, games, and dances. There is a strong spirit of rivalry between villages.

The village is also a property-owning unit (pp. 124-125).

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

622 177 of-Tokalau" and that of a clan (Nanggara) in Tanggu holds the title of "chief-of-Tanggu". These titles today are honorary, and we were unable to determine their former functions.

648 631 178 When we consider the stratified, autocratic type of social organization found in Lau and other parts of Fiji, we must conclude that the British colonial administration used the only practical means of applying the principle of indirect rule in governing the natives. There was only one way to retain the basic structure of the native social system, and that was to take advantage of the hierarchy of ranked clans under the high chief, and dovetail the colonial administration to it. The rule of chiefs found in eastern Fiji fitted particularly well into the British political organization.

There is, however, a conflict between the two systems inasmuch as one is based on a combination of kinship and geographic groups, and the other on geographic groups only. One practical means of resolving this conflict was gradually to throw the emphasis in administration from kinship to geographical bonds. As we have seen, such a change was already taking place in Lau and other parts of Fiji. Such a change was also occurring in western and central Polynesia with the development of the island chiefdoms,[21] and was accelerated by the introduction of gunpowder and western military tactics. The administrative problem was to keep the process from being accelerated to the extent of causing irreparable injury to the native system. With the process went an increasing emphasis on personality rather than rank. One gained social prestige no longer mainly by birth into a kinship unit, but by personality or status in a geographic unit. Hence a gradual breakdown in the power of the chiefs whose power was based mainly on rank was unavoidable. The officials of the geographic unit depended to an increasing extent on personality. The administrative problem was to choose the

[21] See E. G. Burrows, "Breed and Border in Polynesia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 1-21.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka.

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

Social life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

797 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state [622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells, a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by [554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank. He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

797 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the 182 native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor 631 cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs. The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power 575 and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Tongans.[30] Moreover, as noted in *Southern Lau*,[31] more than 80% of the inhabitants are affiliated not with the "Nakauvandra people" but the earlier land people. (See pp. 8 ff.) In this connection one wonders why, if Capell and Lester are so sure that "certainty is difficult to reach" regarding the problems of southern Lau, they make a categorical statement regarding the basis of Lauan civilization without documentation. In this connection we should also note that, according to population estimates, the "Nakauvandra people" did not by any means overrun southern Lau, as maintained by Capell and Lester.[32]

Let us turn now to some of the findings in *Southern Lau* to which my critics take explicit exception. "Totemic" phenomena, on which Capell and Lester centre their concern in southern Lau, cannot be understood except in the context of the functioning social system as a whole. Although this is fully treated in *Southern Lau*, for purposes of the discussion it will be necessary to include a brief outline of it here.

The Functioning Social System of Southern Lau

The most obvious social unit in southern Lau is the village (called *koro*). The villages are united into larger political divisions of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni itu*) which stand in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Moreover, each village is composed of three or more clans (called *matanggali*), that is, unilateral kinship groups which as a rule are exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal. Before the abolition of warfare in Lau the clans occupied hamlets (called *itokatoka*) in garden lands or clearing in the bush. Thereafter they moved to the coast and united in villages but many clans still retained their local unity in the village. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, that is, both kinship and geographic units. The clans are divided into sub-clans (usually called *mbatchi ni lovo*, although the senior sub-clans may be called *itokatoka*). The sub-clans are subdivided into families or households (called *vuvale*).

The clans may also be classified into larger kinship divisions which I have called phratries (*yavusa*). There were five such groups of clans on the five islands surveyed, that is, two major groups, namely (1) the clans of the land people (*kai vanua*) and (2) the clans of the "Nakauvandra people"; and three minor groups, namely (1) the clans of the chief's carpenters (*matai sau*), (2) those of the *lameki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*), and (3) those of the sea people (*kai wai*). From an analysis of all the available data, including the genealogies of the thirty-seven clans existent in 1933-34, it appears that these five phratries stem from historic migrations to the islands.

Inasmuch as the evidence concerning the "Nakauvandra" group of clans is the most clear cut, I shall discuss it first, although to this phratry only five clans (representing less than 20% of the population of southern Lau) may be definitely assigned.

[30] *Southern Lau*, pp. 212 ff.

[31] *Southern Lau*, p. 32.

[32] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF LAU.
From 1921 Census.

District	Island	Village	Pop.	Fijians Res.	Fijians Strangers	Others	No.of Houses.
Fulanga	Ongea	Ongea	101	92	9	-	21
	Fulanga	Munaithake	205	199	5	1	40
	"	Muanaira	41	41	-	-	12
	"	Naivindamu	64	64	-	-	12
Kambara	Namuka-i-Lau	Namuka	216	187	29	-	53
	Komo	Komo	140	115	25	-	25
	Marambo	Marambo	8	8	-	-	1
	Kambara	Lomati	46	42	4	-	8
	"	Nggalinggali	130	123	7	-	28
	"	Tokalau	109	101	8	-	19
	"	Undu	89	83	6	-	19
Mothe	Mothe	Leva	75	74	1	-	17
	"	Nasau	187	152	35	-	51
Oneata	Oneata	Dakuiloa	85	70	13	2	21
	"	Wainggori	138	128	10	-	23
Lakemba	Lakemba	Nasanggalau	151	127	23	1	29
	"	Nukumuku	70	63	6	1	17
	"	Tumbou	283	235	38	10	76
	"	Vakano	70	50	17	3	14
	"	Wathiwathi	130	112	17	1	28
	"	Waitambu	76	69	6	1	15
	"	Yandrana	187	177	8	2	46
	?	Levuka	87	83	3	1	17
Naiau	Naiau	Liku	59	56	3	-	14
	"	Marothivo	117	104	12	1	33
	"	Salia	146	108	34	4	28
Thithia	Thithia	Lomati	113	102	9	2	28
	"	Mambula	123	118	2	3	23
	"	Matheva	41	37	4	-	12
	"	Tarukua	75	67	3	5	17
	"	Watokalau	65	57	7	1	15
Lomaloma	Tuvutha	Tuvutha	102	96	6	-	22
	Susui	Susui	67	64	3	-	21
	?	Futuna	3	3	-	-	1
	Vanua Mbalavu	Levukana	71	67	4	-	18
	"	Lomaloma	151	113	29	9	38
	"	Marothivo	60	48	12	-	15
	"	Ndakuilomaloma	52	46	2	4	12
	"	Sawana	121	105	16	-	28
	"	Uruone	66	61	5	-	15
Mualevu	"	Malaka	14	9	5	-	5
	"	Mavana	115	83	28	4	26
	"	Mboitathi	64	53	10	1	12
	"	Mualevu	196	151	45	-	37
	"	Muamua	30	20	10	-	8
	"	Ndalithoni	91	55	33	3	23
	Avea	Avea	63	53	10	-	20
	Thikombia	Thikombia	51	39	10	2	12
Ono	3 islands	5 villages	641	613	23	5	?
Matuku	Matuku	7 "	648	573	74	1	163
Moala	Moala	8 "	667	645	20	2	133
Totoya	Totoya	4 "	474	431	39	4	88
"	Vanua Vatu	Taira	162	145	15	2	28
			7402	6583	743	76	--ǂ

ǂ 1487 houses exclusive of those in Ono district.

[p. 9]